[12 cont.]

115 123 respected their customs and did not condemn them or brand them as backward superstitions. In this respect one cannot in the long run disguise his feelings. With a sure sense the natives noticed whether one meets them with good will and respect or regards himself as superior to them. Since the old man was no dolt and had also read many a Chinese book, he knew, for example, that the Chinese tend to dismiss the peoples on their borders as [181] barbarians. He also knew how the Chinese nearby laugh at the Tujen as backward "natives." And finally he had heard that the Christians designate as superstition much that is dear and sacred to the Tujen and the Chinese. Thus it is understandable that occasionally he would say: "Father, do not be surprised when I tell you such and such. We believe in it." Or: "Please do not laugh at it when we do something in such a way." On his part, this inhibition was extensively bridged by the genuinely tolerant [829] attitude of the Asiatic: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the ways are different." On my part, the decisive attitude was that every person's conviction is to be respected if he means it honestly, even though, objectively speaking, he may be on the wrong road. The same applies to religion. And when I told the old man, "I believe such and such, you believe such and such, but I am not therefore better than you; it depends upon the conscience," he gladly agreed. Nor was any attempt ever made to influence him in his religion. He knew little about Christianity, but neither did he regard it as mystery-mongering when he inquired about it among my people. They always stressed to him: "You can hear and see everything that we do. We have no secret religion. We tell you everything. If you want to read our books, you may have them." One day he came with the question: "Should I not become a Christian?" I told him: "That depends on you. The heart of a man cannot be forced. Everyone should act according to his insight."

115 171 It greatly cheered his openheartedness to find many a similarity between the Christian and Tujen ceremonies. Thus he was quite surprised at the fire ceremony on Easter eve. In the church he saw altars, saints' images, an oil lamp. He saw how the Christians fell on their knees. He knew: We, too,

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

understand the striking incompatibility which exists between the religious and philosophical principles of these religions, while we see the paradox of things which cannot coexist logically, actually coexisting in a very smooth and natural way. The Monguors believe that each of these religions is right, and practice them according to their various circumstances of life. While their knowledge about dogmas and religion is limited and unstable, their religious spirit is unusually developed. What is the reason for this trend of mind, this carelessness concerning differences between religions and philosophical principles? Our illusions and misunderstandings occur because we compare the conversion to Lamaism of the Mongols and the Monguors with the conversion to Christianity of peoples in ancient times, and assume that a similar change of mind took place among the Monguors. We envision churches filled to capacity for weekly worship, people receiving instructions about definite dogmas, children attending parochial schools, learning prayers, studying religion, and being educated in their belief, and we also envision a group of religious leaders, proficient in the religious sciences, but none of these exist or form a part of Lamaism.

The vast and splendid temples in the monasteries are not churches or places where the faithful fulfill in common their religious duties. Lamas recite texts in the temples; laymen do not. There are no spiritual leaders, skilled in religious sciences, to preach and instruct the faithful. Nowhere are there parochial schools for children; nor is anything done to provide serious religious education for the people. Lamaists are like stray sheep without shepherds, for nowhere is there a pastor or rector taking care of definite groups of the faithful. In teaching Christianity, new notions and principles were instilled in the minds of prospective converts. Their incompatibility with the principles of other religions was explained. The prospective converts were taught that they must live according to the principles of Christianity; that in order to do this they would have to change from their way of life to the Christian way, by changing their conduct, feelings, habits, and way of thinking. None of these things are taught about Lamaism. The religious value of the faith is never explained. No zeal is displayed in order to form serious types of Lamaists. The lama does not care about the shaman as he performs his rites; the shaman does not mind, and acts in like manner; the Taoist, considered as the second best, does not bother, for he is very happy to be invited and to earn some money. Shamans are considered the most potent men in certain circumstances, while lamas are believed to be the appropriate performers of certain kinds of rites. Consequently, the two religions are considered equally necessary and equally right.

The fact that serious Lamaists are not formed appears to be responsible for the Mongours still being fer-

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gram of studies, elaborately built up and highly vaunted, and the knowledge and education sometimes attributed to the lamas in Tibet and Mongolia. My opinions seem to be justified by the opinions of other authors, who have lived for years among the lamas, knowing their language and being themselves Buddhists. 792 873 794

The learned Buddhist, Mme Alexandra David-Neel, who lived in the lamaseries of Tibet and Huang-chung for many years, knew the language very well and was always sympathetic to the lamas, giving "philosophical" justifications for much questionable behavior, but she confesses: 792 157 829

> At the morning exercise are intermixed subtle philosophy with commercialism, high spirituality with feverish pursuit of vile satisfactions, which are impossible to separate from each other; novices, educated in this whirlpool of contrary influences, follow one or another of them, according to their nature and the direction given to them by their master.[14] In Tibet the clerical education has produced only a "small number" of selected literary men, a "large number" of slothful brutes, joyous, gay fellows, and picturesque blusterers, and all these various characteristics, if they do not show up in every lama, are at least "simultaneously deeply ingrained in the nature of all of them." [15]

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist monk, who went to Lhasa to study Lamaism in the learned centers of Tibet, states that they graduate from the college after having studied for twenty-one years; they study especially the Buddhist Catechism and philosophy. They are from thirty to thirty-six years of age when they graduate.[16] It may safely be said that their purpose in entering the priesthood is only to procure the largest possible amount of fortune as well as the highest possible fame in that entirely secluded world of theirs. They do not seek religious truths or practice religious austerities for the work of delivering men and leading them to salvation, but they study to acquire fame, wealth, and influence, and there is nothing deep in their religious life, and 999 out of 1,000 have no conception of the problems of future life.[17] He states also that their faith is a veritable mass of superstition.[18]

These two learned Buddhists seem to confirm my suspicions and to reveal the philosophy and the behavior of the lama institutions. They corroborate my own observations, made at various institutions during the same span of time. A single fact may account only for the mentality of a single man; a multitude of facts, however, reveal the mentality of an entire corporation.[19] [123]

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[14] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 95.

[15] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 96.

[16] Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 291, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

[17] *Ibid.*, 348.

[18] *Ibid.*, 560.

[19] Vreeland, *op. cit.*, 108, *sq.*, gives interesting comparative data concerning the lamas and their behavior in the lamaseries situated in the Gobi Desert in the Narobanchin territory.

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VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910–1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions. 128

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources. 771

It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism. 779

However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huangchung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the 829

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question of whether a substantial principle underlies the soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

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anxious moments of the terrible events caused by evil spirits, which the good spirits could not master.

Every day, in the early morning, they climb with their grandfather to the top of the roof, or go into the courtyard before the *manikan*[1] to honor "Heaven and all the spirits," doing the Wei-sang,[2] and looking at the old man who prostrates himself devoutly, they invoke with him "Heaven and all the spirits" and recite Om Mani, in order to get blessings and protection against the alarming evil spirits. When somebody is smitten with a severe disease, they repeat after grandfather, "Heaven and all the spirits" save our mother, save our father, Om Mani, Om Mani. The children know that at home, the altar and the manikan are the most respected items; they know that spirits preside at the gate of the courtyard, at the well, at the stables, and that they protect the cattle. They know at what time and how they are to be honored, and what is to be done to avoid their wrath. The children live at home in an atmosphere of religion and fear, and when they grow up they are convinced that honoring the good spirits is a requisite for the reaping of good crops, the breeding of healthy cattle, the enjoying of the daily bread, and the protection from evil spirits on the prowl to hurt them.

A logical consequence of such a frame of mind is that Monguors never perform any important act with-

[1] In the middle of the courtyard is built a circular manger in which is planted a tall post. On top of the post are often the Lamaist designs of sun and moon and a circle; a flag is attached to the post printed with Tibetan texts and the "Wind Horse" (Chinese, *Lu-ma;* Tibetan, *rlung-rta*) carrying the jewel symbol (*Norbu*). It is called *manikan,* that is, "the mani post," because the popular "Om Mani" is printed on it.

[2] *Wei-sang* (fdzan garga): *Wei* is a Chinese word meaning "kindle"; *sang* is the Tibetan word *Bsans* meaning "cypress incense." It is the rite performed before sunrise, daily during the first and fourth moon, or only on the first, eighth, or fifteenth of the month, by the heads of Monguor families for "Heaven and all the spirits"; it is also enacted simultaneously with most of the important rites. Some straw is spread in a small oven, a few pinches of pounded cones and leaves of cypress are strewn upon it, and a few pinches of flour, of roasted wheat or spelt, and a few drops of pure water are sprinkled; then all is lit and the odoriferous cypress smoke billows up. It is an "odoriferous offering," not a purifying rite. To these three essential components some devout people like to add a pinch of the six usual pounded spices, dried flowers, red or white sugar, threads of five colors, a little butter or fat; some use wine instead of water, and blow the horn and prostrate themselves three times. Prayers are not said at that time. In performing the "big wei-sang" entire branches of cypress are burned. Lamas are fond of the rite, and even during shamanist rites it is observed. The oven wherein the rite is performed is constructed before the manikan or on the roof of the living room: sometimes it is performed on the edge of the manger. In time of epidemics, etc., the whole family never fails to enact the rite as a group. See also Schröder, Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor), *Anthropos* 47 (1): 43, 1952; 48: 222, 1953. The famous "Wind Horse" is said by some to bring wealth to the family. Others explain that the horses are offered to the roaming souls in the air (which everybody fears) in order that they might pass unmolested; also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 239–245; also W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* 6: 67.

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IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle.

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine.

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits.

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms.

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic; the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement.

be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits. 778 532 756

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the assumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them. 821 829 771

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

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munity, obeying day and night the orders of the chief of the village, pooling all its efforts and putting them at his disposition, reveals the old clan spirit of nomads united in the struggle against forces from abroad; it reveals that the entire community resorts unanimously to religious practices in order to preserve its means of subsistence and that religion in time of fear and distress is a means of securing the cohesion of the group. The civil and religious authority vested in the same chief make religion a constituent of the social organization. This note will be brought out several times further on, in the study of the religious life of the Monguors.[13]

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES

PUBLIC RITES ON NEW YEAR'S

At midnight on New Year's the bell of the temple of the village rings. A group of villagers, comprised of a member of each family, led by the chief of the village, the military commanders and the elders, arrive to honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard of the temple, by lighting a big cypress fire, offering steamed bread, raisins, and butter, pouring a libation of wine, and prostrating themselves holding incense sticks in their hands. The chief of the village says: "Heaven and all the spirits, we thank you for all the blessings of the past year, bless us during this New Year, give us good crops, and guard us from hail." Then they return home in order to perform the traditional family rites of New Year's.

On the third, as already noted, the chief of the village, the elders, and a member of each family go to the temple of the village in order to learn the prophecy of the sedan chair or table god, about the events of the New Year. In villages where there is a Kurtain possessed by the spirit of the temple, he is invited for an exhibition, which is attended by the whole community. This New Year's exhibition is the only public office discharged by the Kurtain in the community. After the exhibition there follows the Rite of the Sacred Animal.

During the first month of the New Year, in the villages where there is a temple dedicated to a Lamaist deity, some lamas are usually invited by the community to say prayers for three to seven days, for the peace of the villagers.

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[13] Potanin, *op. cit.*, 397–399 *sqq.*, describes accurately the interesting elaborate rite performed by shamans, enthroning a new image of a Taoist deity (the dragon king), as the new family protector in a Monguor family (probably at the moment of the division of the family inheritance). The performance is a blend of shamanist and Taoist rites. The opening of the eyes of the image and its animation, etc., are performed in the genuine Taoist fashion. The shamanism of this group of Monguors seems to be more adulterated than that of the Monguors living on the northern side of the Hsining River; the deities they honor are all Taoist deities.

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people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

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Each year I seized every opportunity to get information from fasters concerning that captivating subject, and asked the children in the schools about what grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

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However, it was always said that the directors of the exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

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All the children knew that the poor in this world are people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in former existences, or for their covetousness or injustices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the

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directors of the exercises, and their stock of punishments for injustices never seemed to be exhausted. People who committed injustices had to repair their faults by being a servant, in their future life, of the person who had suffered on their account, or of being reborn as a donkey, a horse, or an ox, plowing their fields, carrying fertilizer, or harvesting. Even the slightest injustices are not overlooked by the terrible judge, for in order to repair the smallest injustices he makes men and women transmigrate into a hen, laying eggs for years, in behalf of the person who suffered because of them. The topic of reparation for injustices seemed to be an obsession of all the preachers, who seldom hinted at other questions of morals, and so the feeling concerning the widespread rite of repairing injustices, among laymen as well as lamas, and even Hutukhtus, becomes understandable. Never did they hint at the shamanist rites performed in private families.

The topic of the old Li, concerning gentle behavior with animals, was the delight of the fasters, who every year asked him to tell again the marvelous anecdotes he had stored in his repertory concerning the subject, for in his lively telling even old chestnuts took on a new glow. The keen interest of nomads in their animals is a matter of common knowledge. Since the Monguors still love their animals in the way of their ancestors, it is no wonder that they asked for that topic, and that they adored the old Li, whose talks hit straight at their hearts. Below are some of his well-known examples.

In India, an old Living Buddha went every day to preach in monasteries and explain texts. He rode an old elephant which, while the religious exercises of his master lasted, knelt devoutly, listening before the temple gate. The old Living Buddha loved all animals with effusion, and especially his faithful elephant. When the elephant died, the Living Buddha made it reincarnate in a strong boy belonging to a poor family. The heavy boy had the exact gait of an elephant, a big, oval long head, unusually long nose and ears, and an appetite as voracious as that of an elephant. No room was left for doubt; the elephant had reincarnated in a human being. The boy, at the age of seven, became the beloved apprentice of the old Living Buddha. After a few years, the master and his apprentice died at the same time. The reincarnation of the holy man was found in a boy endowed with the same characteristics as an elephant, but in addition he had on the palms of both hands and the soles of his feet the marks of the Buddhist "wheel of life," the characteristic of Living Buddhas. This boy was the genuine incarnation of the holy man who had loved the elephant to such an extent. The new Buddha became as celebrated over all India for his elephant features as for his universal charity, which extended not only to human beings, but even to all animals.

Also in India, a holy lama, very fond of animals, squatted under a tree from dawn to dusk, year after

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